1: Jenness--86-87 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 535, 572

"Strangers who come and attach themselves to the group try to connect themselves by marriage, or by establishing definite ties with individual members. Even temporary visitors do the same. When Kaksavik, the Pallik Eskimo from Hudson Bay, paid a three day's visit to the Dolphin and Union strait Eskimos, their foremost man Ikpakhuak made him his 'dancing-associate', numikattia. In this way a permanent tie was established between the [87] two men, to last till one of them died or a violent quarrel caused their estrangement. If at any time either should visit the other, he was sure of a dance of welcome and hospitable entertainment. In the same way when the Puivlik natives were welcoming the first Kanghiryuak family at Lake Tahiryuak Higilak adopted the visiting woman as her dancing-associate and Ikpakhuak adopted both the man and his wife. A few hours afterwards when the second family appeared a young Kanghiryuak man selected Milukkattak for the same honour. It is very common for a native to have two dancing-associates in a single community, one a man and the other a woman. Avranna, for example, found a married couple who were friends of this kind amongst the Kilusiktomiut, when we visited those natives in March, 1916. They gave a dance in his honour on the evening of his arrival. The dance-house was very small, there was no drum, and the whole settlement was on the verge of starvation, yet the welcome they gave him was none the less cordial on that account. They even made a special drum for him next day so that nothing might be lacking for his entertainment. It is by these

two methods, then, by wife-exchange and by association in dancing, that the Copper Eskimo establishes friendships wherever he goes and travels from group to group without danger."

1: Jenness--87 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 572

"Often within a community one man will show special courtesy to another by sending him the hind flippers of every seal that he catches. This is a very delicate mark of attention, for the flippers are the parts that are most esteemed for food. The two men thus become upatitkattik, 'flipper-associates,' a relationship that is independent of kinship ties, and involves no other obligation than the return of the compliment in the same manner. It is never done with caribou, nor with anything but the common rough seal, since the bearded seal, Erignathus barbatus, is the property of all the hunters who are able to gather round the seal-hole when it is captured. Even with the rough seal a small portion is always sent over to each household, unless the settlement is too large for the meat to go all around.

Looser and more temporary ties are sometimes contracted. Two men will arrange to spend a summer together in a certain district, and naturally, during this period, a good deal of mutual assistance is required. A few rifles have now been introduced, and the natives keenly appreciate their superiority over bows and arrows. A man who possesses a rifle will sometimes associate himself with one who has none. This enables the two men to take turns in hunting, and while one with his bow and fishing gear wanders off after birds and fish, the other will take the rifle and scour the country for caribou. Each man, as far as possible, uses his own ammunition, but if one man's supply becomes exhausted he is free to use his companion's. The owner of the rifle naturally has more

service from his weapon than his companion, who can make use of it, as it were, only by default. Still, it constitutes a bond of union between them, a not unimportant link in the welding together of the heterogeneous elements of the community."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

574 all directions, and the whole band of the Musk-ox
123 tribe surrounded us, every household vying with the others in offering us hospitality. Girling went to one house, Patsy and I to another, and The Runner lodged with his brother.

602 This "brother" puzzled me. If Icehouse had only one son, as I had always understood, why did The
[597] Runner call the man his brother? Of course, he might
[601] be an adopted son like myself, but the Eskimos usually distinguished an adopted kinsman by adding a special suffix to the term of relationship. The mystery was
[837] soon explained. A quarter of a century earlier Ice-
[851] house's first husband had met the young man's father in this region and established a permanent relationship with him by a temporary exchange of wives. Although the youth was not born until three or four years afterward, The Runner considered him a true brother from whom he could claim all a brother's
[123] rights and privileges; and I, though a stranger and a white man, was his adopted brother, with a similar claim to his friendship and help.

• 572 When the villagers gathered for a dance that eve-
574 ning The Runner found still another connection. A Musk-ox man and his wife hailed him as their "dancing-companion," declaring that he had filled that rôle for them many years before when they were visiting Dolphin and Union Strait. In virtue of this relationship they claimed the right to extend the village's

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

official welcome, and danced in front of him, interspersing their songs with impromptu speeches to express their delight at his visit. The Runner, who had the prerogative of dancing next, made a suitable reply, saying how glad he had been to accompany his "white brother" on this journey and to meet once more his old acquaintances of the Musk-ox land. The whole ceremony resembled the joyous reunion of long-separated friends. As he remarked to me afterward, when the gathering dispersed, "It is good to establish dancing-companions in every tribe, for then you are sure of a welcome wherever you travel."

The cheerfulness of the villagers amid their hardships aroused our admiration. On Victoria Island the Eskimos with whom I had wandered frequently fasted for twenty-four and even forty-eight hours. The experience was no novelty in their lives; they merely tightened their belts, trudged steadily forward a dozen or fifteen miles, and said smilingly, "If we sight no caribou today we will tomorrow; or, if not tomorrow, certainly the day after." It was summer then, and our tents were comfortable even without fires. But in this village the winter gales were raging, the temperature fluctuating between 25 and 45 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, and ill-luck had been trailing the natives for several weeks. The hunters had searched for seals in the fiercest blizzards until every man's face was scarred with frost-bites, but the number